185 The foregoing account of the investiture with the lingam apparently applies to the Mēkanād Udayas. The following note is based on information supplied by the Udayas of Paranginād. The ceremony of investiture is performed either on new year's day or Sivarāthri by an Udaya priest in the house of a respected member of the community (doddamane), which is vacated for the occasion. The houses of the boys and girls who are to receive lingams are cleaned, and festoons of tūd and mango leaves, lime fruits, and flowers of *Leucas aspera* (thumbē) are tied across the doorways, and in front of the house where the ceremony is to be performed. 185 Until the conclusion thereof, all the people of the village fast. The candidates, with their parents, and the officiating priest repair to the doddamane. The lingams are handed over to the priest, who, taking them up one by one, does pūja to them, and gives them to the children. They in turn do pūja, and the lingams, wrapped in pink silk or cotton cloths, are tied round their necks. The pūja consists of washing the lingams in cow's urine and milk, smearing them with sandal and turmeric paste, throwing flowers on them, and waving incense and burning camphor before them. After the investiture, the novices are taught a prayer, which is not a stereotyped formula, but varies with the priest and village.

• 184 Like other Lingayats, the Udayas respect the Jangam, but do not employ the Jangama thirtham (water used for washing the Jangam's feet) for bathing their lingams. In Udaya villages there is no special menstrual hut (holagudi). Milk is not regarded by them as a sacred product, so there is no hāgōttu in their houses. Nor do they observe the Manavalai festival in honour of ancestors. Other ceremonies are celebrated by them, as

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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184 by other Badagas, but they do not employ the services of a Kurumba.

241 796 177 Important agricultural ceremonies are performed by the Badagas at the time of sowing and harvest. The seed-sowing ceremony takes place in March, and, in some places, *e.g.*, the Mēkanād and Paranginād, a Kurumba plays an important part in it. On an auspicious day—a Tuesday before the crescent moon—a pūjāri of the Devvē temple sets out several hours before dawn with five or seven kinds of grain in a basket and sickle, accompanied by a Kurumba, and leading a pair of bullocks with a plough. On reaching the field selected, the pūjāri pours the grain into the cloth of the Kurumba, and, yoking the animals to the plough, makes three furrows in the soil. The Kurumba, stopping the bullocks, kneels on the ground between the furrows facing east. Removing his turban, he places it on the ground, and, closing his ears with his palms, bawls out "Dho, Dho," thrice. He then rises, and scatters the grain thrice on the soil. The pūjāri and Kurumba then return to the village, and the former deposits what remains of the grain in the store-room (attu). A new pot, full of water, is placed in the milk-house, and the pūjāri dips his right hand therein, saying "Nerathubitta" (it is full). This ceremony is an important one for the Badagas, as, until it has been performed, sowing may not commence. It is a day of feasting, and, in addition to rice, *Dolichos Lablab* is cooked.

241 796 The other agricultural ceremony is called Devvē habba or tenai (*Setaria italica*), and is usually celebrated in June or July, always on a Monday. It is apparently performed in honour of the two gods Mahālingaswāmi and Hiriya Udaya, to whom a group of villages will have temples dedicated. For example, the Badagas in

584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the
621 same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Badagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.

584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.

585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
• [184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's sisters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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should be accessible to her brothers-in-law. Instances occur, in which the husband is much younger than his wife, who, until he has reached maturity, cohabits with her paternal aunt's son, or some one whom she may have a fancy for. The marriage ceremony of the Udayas is carried out on an elaborate scale, and is based on the type of ceremonial which is carried out by some castes in the plains. Before dawn on the marriage day, the brothers and cousins of the bridegroom go, accompanied by some Udayas and the Kota band, to the forest, whence they bring two sticks of *Mimusops hexandra*, to do duty as the milk-posts. The early hour is selected, to avoid the chance of coming across inauspicious objects. The sticks should be cut off the tree at a single stroke of the bill-hook, and they may not be laid flat on the ground, but placed on a blanket spread thereon. The Udayas, who joined in the procession, collect twelve posts of *Mimusops* as supports for the marriage booth (pandal). In front of the house, which is to be the scene of the wedding, two pits are dug, into which cow-dung water is poured. The pūjāri does pūja to the milk-posts by offering sugar-cane, jaggery (crude sugar), etc., and ties two threads thereto. The posts are then placed in the pits by five people—the parents of the bridal couple and the priest. The booth, and dais or enclosure, are then erected close to the milk-posts. On the second day, the bridegroom's party, attended by Kota musicians, dressed up in dancing costume, go to the house of the bride, where a feast is held. The bride then salutes a lamp, and prostrates herself at the feet of her parents, who bless her, saying "May your body and hands soon be filled (*i.e.*, may you have a child), and may your life be prosperous." The bride is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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over who is a Badaga and who is not.

The coherence of Badaga society was already a *fait accompli* by 1800, and we know of scarcely any villages founded much after that date. In effect their colonization of the Nilgiris and the consolidation of various refugee groups into a unity were events of what we must academically call prehistory. From the Badagas' point of view, however, the advent of a few foreign literati did not nudge their community from the darkness of prehistory into the gloomy light of historicity. Until today nobody, Badaga or otherwise, has published a history of the community: are they therefore still prehistoric?

.Be that as it may, their past is of extreme importance to them, and is still vividly recalled in an oral history of legends that are taken for fact and in most cases probably *are* based on actual events. Badaga legends are highly consistent from one part of the district to another and are sufficiently precise about the more insignificant details to convince me that, like the Maori genealogists of old, Badagas have long maintained a fairly accurate interest in their past and in teaching the young about it. Some of these unwritten legends take the form of epic ballads that are sung throughout the night while waiting for someone to die and in other situations where time has to be killed. This should not deceive us into considering the legends mere entertainment: it is true that they are delightfully entertaining to Badagas, but legends are also crucial to their convictions about how the social system should operate. It is these highly credible tales about who settled which village that explain to all the 120,000 Badagas the regulations governing village exogamy and other aspects of the relation between a kinship system, a pattern of settlement and a social hierarchy.

Instead of relegating Badaga legend to the 'folklore' pigeon-hole in the hope that a content analysis will later be made of it, I propose to examine briefly what the legends do and do not cover in Badaga prehistory. Most of them are tales of supposed events, often mysterious, often tragic, events in the lives of personages who lived on the Nilgiri Hills. Stories of love and magic belong to this group. A second group are the political tales, legends of chieftains and East India Company officials who came to the hills for conquest, plunder or sport. A third group are the local legends of Badaga colonization. These three groups deal with varying aspects of Badaga origins. The tales of personal exploits, often amorous in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699–700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it.... There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows:

2: Hockings Z-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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562 582 concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

582 604 Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will [118] [583] take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's • [184] daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's [518] [596] aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

562 583 628 A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a [558] daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

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Table 3. *Occupations of the interviewed males, 1963*

		Rural Badagas	*All other Nilgiri rural communities*
I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%	30.7%
II	Agricultural labourer	5.0%	32.3%
III	Forestry and livestock	0.0%	7.4%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%	5.8%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%	1.6%
VI	Construction	4.0%	2.6%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%	6.9%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%	4.2%
IX	Teaching and 'professions'	13.0%	5.3%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%	3.2%
		(*n*=301)	(*n*=189)

178 184 182 619 [621]

The 1970s find an increasing number of young, college-educated Badagas settling in towns with their wives and taking well-paid jobs. These people still observe community endogamy, but in other respects their behaviour suggests that the distinctive identity of the Badaga community is nearing its end. It is no longer uncommon for urban Badagas to address rural Badagas in Tamil rather than their own language: ashamed of the state government's designation of their people as a 'Backward Class',[28] they are trying to merge with the South Indian city society and deny what they consider an 'uncivilized' parentage. Few such people regularly visit their native villages now. Once marriage with non-Badagas increases and becomes acceptable the palisade around their community will have fallen.

NOTES

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1. Even though there was no tax-farmer on the plateau to harrass them until 1807; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247.

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2. Harkness, 1832, 138, note; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 17; Grigg, 1880, 455–456; Francis, 1908, 167; Price, 1908, 23; Hockings, 1973, 867. According to Metz, 1864, 5, Sullivan came to the Nilgiris 'at the solicitation of the hill-people themselves'. Sullivan, in a letter to the Board of Revenue in 1819, explained that 'the inhabitants are extremely anxious to have their lands measured, under an idea that they are paying more than they ought to do'; Grigg, 1880, 280. Another early influence on Badaga farming may have been the experimental farm for European crops operating at Ke:ṭi from 1830 to

2: Hockings B-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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the houses. On that occasion some Badagas also do *pu:ja* to bring blessings upon agricultural implements and even school books.

Ka:rttige is followed by the month of Ma:rgaźi (December-January), the most inauspicious month of the Dravidian calendar. Some Badagas have now adopted the Tamilian practice of daily *pu:ja* throughout the month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every village street singing *bajan* songs about Shiva and Vishnu. Before this daily tour the women clean the houses, put auspicious markings on the ground outside their doorways and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the *bajan* group has passed by. The many villages which have adopted this ritual conclude the unlucky month with a big communal feast.

In short, we find that there is some local variation in the form taken by the borrowed memorial ceremonies and festivals. They are not celebrated by all Badagas and those who do so show less enthusiasm for them than for native Badaga festivals. Furthermore, Badagas are much less enthusiastic about them than are the Tamilians and Kanarese now living in the Nilgiris.

GROWTH OF LINGAYAT TIES WITH MYSORE

Before the twentieth century those Badagas who were Lingayats were mostly illiterate and knew little about their religion as it was practised in the Mysore homeland. Perhaps once or twice a year a Lingayat *guru* would wander up into the Nilgiris from nearby Aṅgala or Nanjangud, selling *liṅgas* and performing family ceremonies (Harkness, 1832, 137); whatever he taught about the Lingayat faith would have been transmitted by word of mouth. In this century, in contrast, Badaga Lingayats are literate, and some are avid readers of books on Lingayat philosophy. Cheap bus transport has also enabled them to visit the Nanjangud temple and other places of pilgrimage easily and so to meet well-informed monks and priests in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been a number of marriages between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeas have taken this step. However, the move for marital ties with Mysore has not found ready acceptance among most Badaga Lingayats, even though Kanarese brides usually bring a substantial dowry with them. For several decades this matter has been the subject

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

582 583 for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

565 454 No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

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● 184 556 Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

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(177)

THE NEW FACTIONS

578 By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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178 abeyance, but until about 1930 they did follow the pattern detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Village-and-Town Networks

631 These more modern networks may roughly be classed as either formal or informal. Formal ties are those that use the recognized channels of local government. Information about personal or legal problems may sometimes be obtained from the *panchayat* office in the next village. A clerk in that office, which is an organ of the state government, will either supply information himself or direct the enquirer to a government office in town (where he will possibly be sent to yet other offices!).

571 The informal ties between town and village make use of Badaga friends and relatives who work, study or live in the towns, or connect with non-Badagas living in the towns who know where to get information or how to solve a problem. Informal networks are often used by villagers when the formal ones do not resolve a difficulty: this is probably true of many communication systems (Frank, 1958–1959, *passim*).

THE POSITION OF BADAGAS IN NILGIRI SOCIETY

178 The customary interdependence between the Badagas and other groups is so complex and yet so loose that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the plateau during this century. Some Badagas are much more dependent than others on the cash economy and usually try to avoid the burden of old obligations. The potentialities of a labour market, nearness of bus routes to town, aboriginal residence patterns and the relative proximity of tribal settlements have all been important in determining the extent to which the Badagas of each village have dropped their traditional ties with the indigenous tribes.

178 Thus, to cite one example, Badagas of the Kundena:du region
184 tend to be more conservative in outlook than other Badagas: they still invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies and in other ways keep up their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew contact with Kotas as they now consider it demeaning. A modern Badaga who

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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wants to be regarded as an orthodox Shaivite would not wish to attend a funeral where Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the (once) carrion-eating Kotas (Breeks, 1873, 42; Grigg, 1880, 205, 479; Mandelbaum, 1960, 274) become 'Untouchables' in the new terminology, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a funeral. The new orientation—for a man who is now more a Hindu citizen and less a Nilgiri peasant—seems appropriate to a Badaga who finds himself competing for jobs or official favours with people from all over southern India. The relatively conservative Badagas of Kundena:du, on the other hand, are among the wealthiest villagers in the district, as nearly all of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This source of profit and employment is apparently so secure that these people do not feel themselves in serious competition for positions with men from elsewhere. Their confidence in the future allows them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the local Kotas. Few tools are now made by those Kotas, however, for the great quantity of specialized metal items including machinery needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in towns, and furthermore these particular Kotas are preoccupied with their own tea estates. Both Kotas and Badagas here activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits: where the required tool is too complicated for a blacksmith to make, where the market has the same item at a lower price or where one's labour can be more profitably spent on plantation work than on some customary obligation, the traditional links fall into abeyance (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

Similar adaptations to the expanding cash economy may be seen in other aspects of the traditional intercommunity relations. Few Todas, to mention another example, now take the trouble to make their annual rounds of Badaga villages in search of their customary dues: Todas feel this smacks of beggary, while most Badagas would find reasons for not giving anything. Badagas for their part never request the Todas to come and take their gifts and only rarely may seek out a Toda friend when a special requirement can be obtained only from him.

In a survey made in 1963 it was found that 33% of Badaga respondents no longer had any contact with or attitude towards the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; and the younger they were, the more alienated they felt from these tribes. Nevertheless many more respondents in all age groups disliked the Kurumbas than disliked

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156 183 life. While he is busily making a living, gaining respect and maintaining status he apparently goes through a continuing process of re-evaluating these activities in the light of changing conditions and new information. Such re-evaluation takes the dual form of private thought or meditation and of informal public discussions about his clique, their friends, and their various attitudes to life. So important is this re-evaluation process that many men can be seen devoting a major part of their waking time to it. The womenfolk are equally concerned with re-evaluation through conversations, but are obliged to work physically at the same time (Harkness, 1832, 114; Metz, 1864, 98-99; Benbow, 1930, 3 5; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 247; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 5-6; see Plate 10). In such discussions Badagas experience the need to make manifest from time to time the norms by which their behaviour is guided. This process not only makes the norms explicit but reinforces their validity in most cases, too. At the same time ambiguous or anachronistic norms are subject to scrutiny and then modification or total rejection. In view of this re-evaluation 121 process it is no longer enough to know that a modern Badaga is a male of a certain age, from a certain village and phratry or of one particular category in their social system in order to predict how he will conduct himself in any given situation. We also need to understand the more transient social formations and networks with which he is associated, the social functions of these formations and networks, and also the manner in which their members are recruited. As I have observed on many occasions, the play of 178 elementary logic, of conflicting orientations, personalities and 521 proverbs, the relevance of everything said to everyone within earshot are all factors making for fascinating and valuable conversation among Badagas. Slowly yet dynamically their culture is changing, not simply through external programmes devised for the modernization of India, but consciously, indeed conscientiously, through this tedious and time-consuming procedure. Faced with the need to vote for a variety of parliamentary candidates, confronted with propaganda on the value of family planning or with another current topic, individuals discuss the issues, try to reach a consensus and then act accordingly.

• 184 178 Those cleavages in the social system across which conversation is not permissible are barriers to the free flow of communication, and on either side of these barriers variant orientations develop. To understand cultural change we should pay some attention to

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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

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759 462 [582] [59] Secondly, these treatments have descended through many generations of therapists in the different villages. What are the implications of this? Badaga villages are exogamous, and marriage is virilocal. When a woman becomes a therapist, who then is she likely to learn from? As we shall see with Sithamma, who was not atypical in this respect, she learns from her husband's mother, or from some other older woman who is married into his village. This must make for some confusion occasionally. Perhaps a small girl learns the identities of many plants around her natal village, and may even acquire some basic cures from her mother or other women living in that village; but she only begins formal training as a therapist *after* marriage, which means that she is then living elsewhere, being indoctrinated into a possibly different set of practices and identi-

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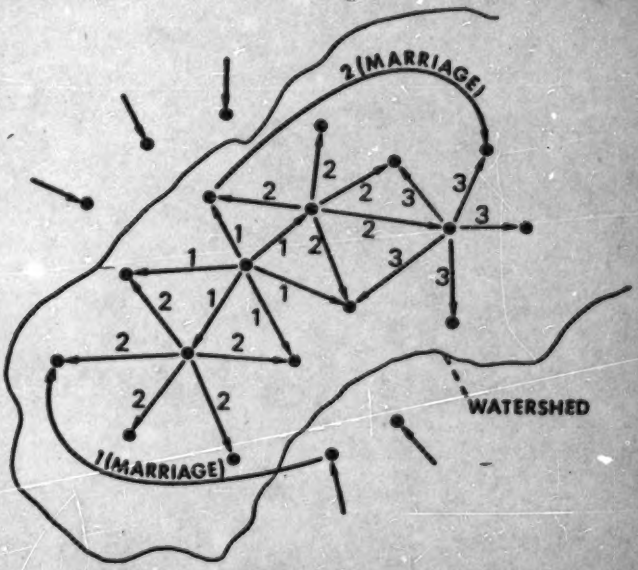

Diagram 3 : Schematic illustration of the spread of medical knowledge through some neighbouring Badaga villages during three professional lifetimes of therapists (ca. one century)

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

fications than those she had picked up as a girl. Yet the older therapist sees to it that a trainee cures according to the traditions of her husband's hamlet. The rule of virilocal residence means that each village which has a therapist tends to retain some idiosyncratic patterns of curing, and to transmit them more or less unchanged through succeeding generations in that village alone. We must remember that some three-quarters of all the therapists are female.

But what of the male therapists? They are patrilocal in residence and hence just accentuate the effect I have already described: they too transmit a curing pattern that has long been idiosyncratic in their own village (cf. 10.12). And since therapists are secretive about their knowledge anyway, and would not compare cures between one village and another as a rule, there is no basis for a common medical tradition in Badaga culture. Even the male specialists who attract clients from all over the Nilgiris tend to rely on secret spells and secret herbal remedies, so that their knowledge also remains solely in their own hamlets and occasionally may provide some subsidiary income for generations of a particular family. In fact, it should be clear now that what I have recorded in this study is largely the medical system of Oranayi village, where the informants The singh and his mother Sithamma lived, and of the immediately contiguous hamlets where she practised. It is true that a therapist or a midwife does visit such neighbouring hamlets, but this does not negate my hypothesis. It simply means that instead of there being theoretically 370 medical systems (i.e., the number of Badaga villages) there are probably between 50 and 100 (i.e., the number of practising therapists); and each is very locally restricted.

A model for the diffusion of Badaga medical knowledge over several generations is sketched in Diagram 3. Topography conditions this pattern very much, for the Nilgiri Massif is fragmented into many small valleys, and these *tend* to be exogamous because they were mostly colonized in the first place by members of one particular clan. Idiosyncratic therapeutic information thus tends to remain within a valley over the generations, where of course it will be based on and adapted to the flora that are locally available (cf. 1.4). To the extent that this information is in the hands of womenfolk it becomes a service that they provide mostly for their affines, and along with ceremonial reciprocity, money-lending, and the all-important arrangement of marriages, is a factor in the linkage of diverse lineages and clans.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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and by juxtaposing ("polarizing") them with organic processes make them cognitively impressive. (Young 1976: 18)

The task of the therapist in this endeavour is "to communicate and legitimize the episode's outcome... according to rules shared by sick persons, healers, and audiences" (Young 1976: 16). The therapist tries to give some convincing assurance that health will be restored, and is very much a mediator.

Conclusion

10.21. In this study we have seen that the Badaga refugees, after settling on the Nilgiri Massif, began to elaborate principles of therapy that relied on the montane herbs and also on a logic of symbolism. We cannot seriously speak of *one* medical system, however, for it appears that different villages—and there are altogether 370 of them—developed divergent traditions of curing that were transmitted virilocally from older married women to their sons' wives, for the most part, and sometimes to their sons. Badaga therapeutics can be viewed as a type of ritual, and as such it has certain distinctive characteristics. It is a formal technique for mediating between certain individuals and the realm of the unknown, serving some of the more pragmatic needs of people in their dealings with the unknown; and as ritual it has its specialized practitioners. This however is too general a way of putting the matter. The therapist performs two functions: pharmacalogically, we may expect that some of the ingredients in some of the medicaments have a beneficial effect; and psychologically, we can argue that the curative procedures serve to label some maladies that would otherwise go undiagnosed and unnamed, and thus to make it appear that a medical problem can be taken care of by the therapist. This certainly is an important aspect of the recuperation process.

[184]

In their therapeutics and through the accumulated pragmatic knowledge of their specialists the Badaga people have over the centuries attempted to control an impinging aspect of their environment, namely disease. To the extent that the community has survived and multiplied a hundredfold, their therapy is worthy of study and their pharmacology deserves some recognition.

Badaga medicine is also of interest from another point of view. It is not aligned to the Ayurvedic system, which is an aspect of the

231 Nearly every
592 family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be
178 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the
492 terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some
463 Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Saivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study.

(101)

615 Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

615 phratries, however -- which they rank in various orders to create a kind of caste hierarchy. One widely accepted view ranks the various groups of Badagas in this descending order:

1) Wodeyas, an orthodox Lingayat phratry;

2) Haruvas, sometimes called Badaga Brahmins;

3) Lingayats (exclusive of Wodeya Lingayats);

4) Kaggusis, a small vegetarian group;

5) Gaudas, more commonly called "Badagas" because they make up the vast majority of the entire Badaga community;

6) Kumbaras;

7) Bedas;

8) Toreyas.

•184 (615) 433 361 Visible cultural differences between the various groups of Badagas are very slight. All Badagas are basically agriculturists who also keep a few cattle; all live in villages made up of rows of houses running in parallel lines across the sheltered slopes of a hill (Thurston 1909: I, 75; Ranga 1934: 1, 5; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 246); all are subject to the same indigenous politico-legal system; all maintain the same kind of interdependence with the other Nilgiri tribes. Although the endogamy of some of these groups might tempt us to call them jatis, and although some kind of a caste hierarchy is discernible, they are unlike the multi-caste villages of the plains in that there is no economic specialization to distinguish each group, there are no "caste" councils, and it is very exceptional for members of more than one of these groups to inhabit the same hamlet.

103 by a Toda of that name. (A much more likely derivation is from mal, meaning "mountain" in Badagu.) It was a wasteland of jungles which under the British administration was opened up to tea and coffee planters, and came to be called Wynaad. Badagas also use the term Malnad (mal ə·ṛ , in Toda) to include the western slopes and mountainous ridge of the Nilgiri Plateau (cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 314). Because the Wynaad is geographically so isolated from the Nilgiris, • 184 the Badagas living there operate a separate and rather different system of village 121 government than that existing on the plateau. (We shall not be concerned with their social organization in this study. They are briefly described in Ranga 1934: 25-28.)

631 The next largest of these political divisions is Todanad, so named because (103) it is mostly the domain of the Todas. This land lies in the western half of the plateau, immediately to the east of Malnad.

In the north-eastern sector of the plateau is Paranginad, a name commonly shortened to Parangad. This division has relatively few Todas, but a thick concentration of Badagas and quite a number of Irula and Kurumba settlements at the lower elevations.

(103) To the south of Paranginad lies another division with a heavy population of Badagas but very few Todas, Merkunad (meaning "Western District").

Directly to the west of Merkunad and on the southern edge of Todanad (166) lies the smallest of these divisions, Kundenad, generally called Kunda. This is apparently the most recently settled of all the divisions, for it alone is not recorded as a division in the earliest British writings about the Nilgiris (Ward 1821: lxi). (133) The terrain is very hilly there, and it was only in the last century that the pressure for land in the rest of the plateau was sufficient to encourage Badaga

779 776 (778) (764) Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead. •184 779

795 (162) Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon revie / their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

621 795 The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

794 621 (793) Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(Continued)

The Position of the Badagas in Nilgiri Society Today

177 The traditional system of cultural interdependence linking the indigenous communities is a system so complex and yet so loosely organized in structure that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the Nilgiris during this century. Some of the indigenous peoples, such as the Kotas, are much more eager than others to activate the traditional relationships; some, like the Badagas, are much more dependent than others on the cash economy. Why this should be so can not be explained by one uniform factor. The availability of a nearby labor market, close bus routes to town, the tribal residence patterns and the relative closeness of particular tribal settlements, are all important factors in determining the extent to which the Badagas of any one hamlet have dropped their traditional ties with the other indigenous groups.

•184 648 Thus, to cite one example, the Badagas of the Kunda region (some 20 miles south of Ootacamund) tend to be more conservative in outlook than Badagas elsewhere, since it is mainly these Kunda Badagas who still normally invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies, and who in other ways activate their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew 178 648 contact with Kotas because, while they recognize this contact as a traditional link, they now consider it demeaning for them. A "modern" Badaga who wants to be

178 regarded as a fairly orthodox Saivite would not want to be seen at a funeral where
648 Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the Kotas become "un-
touchable" musicians, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a
(6529) funeral. The attitudes of many Badagas toward Kotas -- as well as toward Todas
and Kurumbas -- have changed in recent years: our "modern" Badaga is now
thinking of himself, in the economic and religious spheres of his life, as more of
a Hindu citizen and less of a Nilgiri tribesman; and his social distance from Kotas
and Kurumbas has now been increased, since they fall into the status of Untouch-
ables, from his view-point. The new orientation seems appropriate to a Badaga
who finds himself competing for jobs or for official favors with people from all
• 184 over southern India. It is noteworthy that the "conservative" Badagas of the Kunda
area (cf. p. 111) are by far the wealthiest villagers in the District, for nearly all
of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This contin-
uing source of wealth and employment is so certain that the people there do not
feel themselves in serious competition for work or for official favors with men
(648) from other parts of India. Their confidence in their future well-being allows
them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the Kotas. Few tools are
178 now made by the local Kotas, on the other hand, because these particular Kotas
648 are preoccupied with their own tea plantations, and the great quantity of specia-
lized metal items needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in the town
markets. In summary, both the Kotas and the Badagas in this part of the Nilgiris
activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits:
where the market offers the same article at a lower price, or where one's labor
can be spent more profitably on plantation work than on some traditional obliga-
tion, the traditional link falls into abeyance.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

578 691 place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

177 615 582 The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

●184 582 615 During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by [595] other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

178 583 If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place suspicious markings outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi, Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased: as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

The New Factions

578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

(177) (184) 178 648

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(494) (554) status and agricultural success.

The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 (178) improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

121 sification of the rural economy. This was especially true in those villages where much of the land had to remain "dry" because it could not be reached by the irrigation system. The change to a cash crop integrated what had been relatively isolated villages into the regional economy; previously they had been more economically self-sufficient. The increased range of economic relations, Epstein claims (1962: 315), was associated with a diminution of traditional economic ties within one village: farmers thought it expedient to save capital by ceasing to give customary dues to their clients. This was not simply a matter of withholding what the clients were entitled to, however, for it released them from traditional obligations and allowed them to seek better employment in the regional economy. Of the two villages studied by Epstein, the irrigated one changed its internal economic relations less than the "dry" village did. Irrigation boosted production without very much altering the traditional economic differentiation that separated farmers and their clients. By comparison, the "dry" village was obliged to diversify its economy much more, and as a result its integration with the regional economy went much further; economic relationships within that village were altered very radically.

433 621 [121] Diversification of the economy has also occurred in Badaga hamlets during the last few decades. Indeed, the most affluent and tension-free hamlets today are the ones with the most diversified economies: tea, coffee, market vegetables, eucalyptus oil and poultry are all produced in certain hamlets, and ensure a steady income there even if one or two of the items are ruined by disease or weather in any particular year. At the same time we note that in the Nilgiris the economically more "progressive" Badagas (a great majority of the community) have severed all or most of their ties with Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas, just as the more "progressive" farmers near Mandya have severed ties with their traditional clients and

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121 specialists. The Nilgiri tea and coffee growers have become integrated into the
178 South Indian cash economy at the expense of such traditional relationships.
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The trend toward diversification of the economy in the "dry" village which Epstein studied, and toward its greater integration with the regional economy, was
121 accompanied by changes of a political nature. Some villagers began to take part in political meetings in the town, and to elect their panchayats rather than accept hereditary incumbents. The change was not paralleled in the irrigated village which Epstein studied, however: there the traditional hereditary panchayats remained in operation, and there was relatively little concern with state political movements. The elected panchayat of the "dry" village does not settle disputes now: these are generally taken to court in Mandya. The traditional panchayat does settle disputes in the irrigated village, however.

632 Among Badagas, as we have seen, there are now elected panchayats which act as the organs of local government in providing basic rural facilities. The traditional panchayats are more influential in the control of behavior and the organization of festivities, however. Membership of the latter is sometimes hereditary and sometimes "selected"; often a single council has members designated by both pro-
692 cesses. The magistrate's court is now widely used in settling disputes; but at the same time the traditional council still has an important part to play in this activity.

121 Factions are not rigidly opposed in the irrigated village that Epstein studied. She regards them as "a mechanism whereby economic status may be translated into political influence" (1962: 320). As such they have changed little in their significance since the days before irrigation was available. In the "dry" village, on the other hand, factions "display the basic cleavage between innovators and conservatives" (Epstein 1962: 320). In summary, "Economic change in [the "dry"

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 463 B [77] B Ko 231 [648] B Ko 184 241 361 B [64] B 121

basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

2. The Philosophic Base

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

B 175 166 361 182 [184] B [33] B [32] B [77] B [71]

The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malabarian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employment of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.

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TABLE IV

PRESENT DAY BADAGAS AND KOTAS OF THE UPPER NILGIRIS VERSUS THOSE INHABITING THE NILGIRI WYNAAD

Categories omitted are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
BADAGAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Hamlets and villages	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses and hall-houses •Side-gabled temples, similar to the houses •Variants of temple with cupola	•Badaga master and Tholuiya servant relationship •Agriculture:- few multilayer, more single layer, and many kitchen gardens • orchards: nectarines, peaches, pears, plums • dry field commercial crop production: mainly potatoes • secondary dry field crop production: amaranths, barley, millets, wheat •Acacia and eucalyptus trees grown for bark tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood •Livestock rearing: chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, sheep •Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl •Wage earning: laborers on plantations, gardeners, factory workers, clerks, school teachers, engineers
KOTAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Six villages	•Cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses, similar to the Badagas' •Front-gabled temples •Single temple with cupola	•Agriculture:- similar to the Badagas', but on a smaller scale •Grow some acacia and eucalyptus trees •Livestock rearing: similar to the Badagas' •Limited hunting: similar to the Badagas' •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters •Limited wage earning
BADAGAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•Hamlets and dispersed houses	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Hipped-roof houses •Pyramidal-roof temples	•Badaga master and Paniya servant relationship •Agriculture:- multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens • limited dry field crop production: millets •wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle •Some men working on plantations
KOTAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•One village	•Cremation and worship centers	•Front-gabled temple	•Agriculture:- a multilayer garden and small kitchen gardens •wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle and goats •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters

368 there is a burial-cremation center. All communities are in easy walking distance from roads, and narrow paths--sometimes running over
361 dikes separating wet rice fields--are used to gain access to roads.
487

Houses, temples, and shrines. Excluding certain resemblances
342 in the interior plan, the Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga house type is quite
[184] different from the one used by upper Nilgiri Badagas. Each house has an earthen platform, often partially made with fine earth from termite hills (Figures 22 and 23). Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground (Plate
[824] XII, B). Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house. An entranceway edged by shallow walls, typically made by Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas, often runs across the veranda. In a house-row some side walls serve two houses, the roof crest is elongated, and a ver-
[353] anda usually runs around the combined houses. A shrine or storage room built next to a normal dwelling is incorporated into a house-row. If a house front is considered to be the side edging a courtyard,

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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585 lives, and is kept in a separate house. A good day is fixed for the marriage. Pandals are erected, grand preparations go on and the marriage takes place in the regular way that we shall describe presently. Among all the other Badagas what may be called court-
584 ship prevails. Child marriages never take place among Badagas,
[184] though, as we have seen, a child is often bespoken for marriage from the very day of its birth.

In the other Badaga castes the parents have nothing to do in the preliminary arrangements of a marriage settlement. The young Badaga leaving home always takes a friend with him when going out in search of a wife. He has to observe certain omens on his
584 way to the girl's house. The sight of flesh or an empty pot or a
787 single jackal is always considered a bad omen. Filled pots or a pair of jackals coming from an opposite direction is considered a good omen, indicating a happy union. Thus the way and the nature of the omens are the first points to be observed, and to see that the anxious young man in search of a wife does not ignore these facts, a friend, but really a spy, tracks him to the house of the girl whom
584 he intends to ask to marry him. The parents or the other elder relatives of the girl understand from the presents which the youth brings, and from the friend by whom he is accompanied, that he has come in search of a wife, and they leave the young pair to meet and be happy in each other's company. The young man spends four or five days there, and if the girl is to his liking he temporarily takes leave of his future wife's relations and returns home in haste to complete the marriage arrangements. If the pair do not like each other, that they shall never marry each other is settled then and there, and that is the end of it.

When they like each other, the young man, as we have seen, returns to his parents, and sends them, or some other elder relatives if his parents are not alive, to settle the marriage. These proceed to the girl's house and falling at the feet of the parents of the girl request them to give her in marriage to their son. Generally the mother of the boy asks her future daughter-in-law whether she will marry her son and tells her that she has plenty to eat or as she would put it—*Timbadu nimgênu koravillâ*. The girl respectfully replies that she will do as her parents order, and, though she has almost always been carefully tutored up, her answer appears to be given in an extremely natural and simple manner.

585 A day is then fixed, and the marriage is always performed in the bridegroom's house. Five, nine or thirteen women relatives